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Broad Purposes

1. Security U.S.
2. Reduce tensions & probability of war
3. Prosperity of U.S.
4. Global economic well being - order
5. Human rights

Concept: U.S. must play creative role in shaping new international system similar 1945.

Atlanticism & containment then

Today global engagement

Not confined developed nations

Objectives:

1. Closer cooperation W.E. & Japan
Institutionalize consultation
2. Bilateral political & economic ties with regional "influentials" -
Venezuela
Brazil
Nigeria
Saudi Arabia
Iran
India
Indonesia

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3. Better N-S relations

Global Development Budget

CIEC

Links between OECD & OPEC

4. SART vice SALT

And thus more stable U.S.-USSR relationship

Match Soviet ideological expansion with human rights & detente

Rebuff Soviet incursions -

support to friends,

ameliorate sources conflict

5. Normalize PRC

Prevent Soviets concentrating west or south

6. Mid East settlement

Prevent Soviet reentry to area

7. Peaceful transformation South Africa to biracial democracy.

8. Restrict flow of arms, nuclear proliferation & CTB

9. Human rights - global sensitivity

Political, social & economic

10. Defense posture to deter strategic & conventional attack.

I. Relations with advanced industrial democracies

A. Strengthen mechanisms

OECD

EC

Regular summits

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B. Cooperation with Europe

EC expansion - support

Spain (adverse impact US agricultural interests) & Portugal

Spain - NATO - 1978

Flexible NATO participation, commitment

Italy?

Portuguese model

US weapons purchases

Coordinate economic policies vis-a-vis Soviets & E. Europe

Establish factual basis within OECD/NATO on E-W economic issues

Exchange data on credit extension & large industrial projects in USSR & E. Europe

Agreements on credit terms & volume

Agreement on economic leverage -

e.g. Yugoslavia under pressure

Settle Cyprus & Aegean

C. Japan

Nuclear Planning Group

Defense coordination, especially naval

Japanese, PRC, ROK, NK peace conference

Japanese support ASEAN

D. Economic

Establish consultation on growth & inflation objectives

Growth 5%; inflation less than 5%

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Added financial support for stabilization

IMF - resource expansion

Expended IMF - Saudis

Rules for transnational investment - similar GATT on trade

E. Open trade system

Lower tariffs & non-tariff barriers & improve settlement mechanisms

II. Regional influentials

(Note general policies run counter to their interests - proliferation, human rights, arms transfers)

A. General

Consult

Symbolic acts - visits

Refrain where critical to their interests (A-7s to Pakistan)

U.S. technology (satellite TV)

B. Venezuela

Joint development technology

Orenoco tarbelt

Caribbean development plan

C. Brazil

International sugar agreement

Make available satellites for

Comms

Weather

Geological surveys

Cooperation S.W. Africa & S. Atlantic

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Contacts with full political spectrum - hedge against military decline

D. Nigeria

MFN on arms transfers

Comm advice/equipment

Transport aircraft to play stabilizing role

Consult S.A., human rights & OAU

E. Saudi

Arab Marshall Plan -

US technology, Saudi \$

Large development projects in Egypt & Sudan

OPEC - OECD relationship

Special Saudi role in Jerusalem

Encourage oil production/prices

F. Iran

Consult Persian Gulf & Indian Ocean

G. India

Desai visit

Support World Bank/IDA

Restore bi-lateral agricultural aid

Consult on military presence Indian Ocean

Make available satellite technology for comms

H. Indonesia

Assure; no threat from VN; US continued Pacific presence

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Improve responsiveness of aid programs

\$100 FMS for F-5s & Navy

III. N-S

A. Political

Regain access

Consult - inform

Remove from USSR-US rivalry

Arms restraint agreement

Economic development cooperation

B. Economic

Expand US multi-lateral & bilateral aid

Fulfill commitments World Bank, IDA, IADB, African
Development Fund

Global program to coordinate foreign assistance

Increase World Bank resources

Reduce US bilateral

Price stabilization - few commodities

International food reserve arrangement

C. Specific countries

1. Panama - treaty

2. Cuba - normalize

Statement disavowing terrorist attacks, US soil

Normalization if Cuba withdraws troops Angola, etc.

IV. Soviet Union & Allies

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A. Arms Control

SALT II - 77/78

Begin SART I or SALT III - 78

SART - 79/80

MBFR

Parity on ground

Collective vice national

Substantial Soviet reductions

Indian Ocean

Civil Defense

Annual consultative US-Soviet summit

B. Political/Economic

Preferential treatment Romania & Poland

Expand economic relations

Jackson - Vanik

Claims settlement - Czech & GDR

Soviet participation global food plan

Promote evolution

Helsinki, RFE-RL, public posture human rights

V. PRC

Claims negotiations

Facilitate tech transfer - perhaps defense

VI. Mid East

A. Agreement.

Initiate US-Palestinian contacts - Jordan-Palestinian confederation

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B. Trade

Expand tech assistance

Expand commercial exchange with Iraq

C. Gulf

Encourage Gulf nation cooperation

Develop dialogue with smaller sheikdoms

Expand presence in Gulf if Indian Ocean talks fail

VII. Africa

A. Rhodesia

Constitutional conference mid 77

S.A. support for constitution

Pressure Smith to yield power

Zimb development fund

B. Namibia

Press RSA agree elections that go beyond Turnhalle formula - include SWAPO; press SWAPO

C. RSA

UNSC declaration apartheid

Chapter VII sanctions - Fall '77

Broad range pressure - by '80 marked progress dismantling apartheid - equal economic opportunity - abandonment or radical restructuring homelands

If no progress 78/79 - full range economic sanctions

D. Minimize Soviet, Cuban & Chinese presence

Agree with Soviets to withdraw from arms sales

Seek coalition of moderates to resist Sovs, etc., Nigeria, Morocco, Egypt

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VIII. Arms Control

A. Conventional transfers

Principle of not first to introduce

No commitment to sale before deployment with US forces

15% reduction by '80 less NATO, ANZUS, Japan

Establish suppliers group - USSR, France, UK, FRG - limits especially sophisticated aircraft & Mid East

Promote regional restraint

agreements on purchases

B. Nuclear proliferation

1. Cooperation to restrict exports

Especially enrichment & reprocessing

Full scope safeguards

2. Agreement that uranium sufficient until 2000

a) IFCEP

b) Regional enrichment centers

c) US storage of spent fuel

d) Global program uranium assessment

3. Strengthen NPT

Brazil, Argentina, Egypt, Israel, S. Africa

C. CTB

TTB/PEN - ratify 1977

Bilateral CTB with Soviets 77-78

IX. Human Rights

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A. Multilateral Action

Strengthen international organs involved including UN machinery;
inter-American machinery; Basket III

International agreement on TV broadcasts

B. Bilateral

Impact on aid & arms

Focus attention on gross violators

C. Unilateral

McCarran Act

Expand refugee program

Major conference

X. Defense

A. Improve effectiveness

1. Rationalize commitments

Pacific

Increased load on allies & mobility - reduce US deployments

2. Increase responsiveness

Army readiness - reserve

Airlift - sealift

War reserve

Larger Reforgers

3. R&D base

B. Efficiency

1. Personnel

a) Retirement 78

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b) Pay 79

c) Recruitment 80

2. Recuce procurement with SALT & MBFR, etc.

3. Improved procurement procedures

Terminate A7E, A6E, F-111 - 77

Reform shipbuilding '80

C. NATO

1. Improve conventional war reserve

60 - USAF - 79

90 - USA - 81

Complete shelters

Anti-armor density

2. Readiness for short warning

Ability to detect

Maldeployments

Pre-position - increase mobility

Standardize logistics planning

3. Standardize/interoperability

4. New planning process

D. East Asia

1. Korea withdrawal

2 Koreas in UN

2. Greater Japanese contribution

Self defense air/ground attack

ASW

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3. Access SEA/Indian Ocean

New Phil base agreement

Air transport rights - Singapore

Sharing ASW with ANZUS in Indian Ocean

Free association

Agreement - Micronesia

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